1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

THE KHASIS

SECTION I.

HABITAT.

101 162 The Khasis reside in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam. They number 176,614 souls, which total is made up of:—

Khasis	107,515
Syntengs	47,883
Christian Khasis	17,125
Khasis inhabiting other districts	4,091
	176,614

131 162 563 The Khasi and Jaintia Hills district is situated between 25° 1′ and 26° 5′ North Latitude, and between 90° 47′ and 92° 52′ East Longitude. It contains an area of 6,157 square miles, with a total population at the Census of 1901 of 202,250 souls. In addition to the Khasis there are some members of Bodo tribes inhabiting parts of the district.

The Lyngam tribe appears to have been reckoned in 1901 as Khasi, there being no separate record at the last Census of these people.

101 131 [133] 563 The district is split up into two divisions, the Khasi Hills proper and the Jaintia Hills. The Khasi Hills form the western portion of the district and the Jaintia Hills the eastern. The Khasis inhabit the Khasi Hills proper, and the Syntengs, or Pnars, the Jaintia Hills. The latter hills take their name from the Rajas of Jaintia, the former rulers of this part of the country, who had as their capital Jaintiapur, a place situated at the foot of the Jaintia Hills on the southern side, which now falls within the boundaries of the Sylhet

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1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

district. The Lynngams inhabit the western portion of the Khasi Hills proper. A line drawn north and south through the village of Nongstoin may be said to form their eastern boundary, and the Kamrup and Sylhet districts their northern and southern boundaries, respectively. The people known as *Bhois* in these hills, who are many of them really Mikirs, live in the low hills to the north and north-east of the district, the term "Bhoi" being a territorial name rather than tribal. The eastern boundary of the Lynngam country may be said to form their north-western boundary. The Wárs inhabit the precipitous slopes and deep valleys to the south of the district. Their country extends along the entire southern boundary of the district to the Jadukata, or Kenchi-iong, river where the Lynngam territory may be said to commence towards the south. There are some Hadem colonies in the extreme eastern portions of the Jaintia Hills. It is these colonies which are sometimes referred to by other writers as "Kuki Colonies." They are settlers from the North Cachar Sub-division of the Cachar district within recent years. It is possible that the title Hadem may have some connection with *Hidimbá*, the ancient name for the North Cachar Hills.

APPEARANCE.

The colour of the Khasi skin may be described as being usually brown, varying from dark to a light yellowish brown, according to locality. The complexion of the people who inhabit the uplands is of a somewhat lighter shade, and many of the women, especially those who live at Nongkrem, Laitlyngkot, Mawphlang, and other villages of the surrounding high plateaux, possess that pretty gipsy complexion that is seen in the South of Europe amongst the peasants. The people of Cherrapunji village are specially fair. The Syntengs of the Jaintia Hills are darker than the Khasi uplanders. The Wárs who live in the low valleys are frequently more swarthy than the Khasis. The Bhois have the flabby-looking yellow skin of the Mikirs, and the Lynngams are darker than the Khasis. The Lynngams are probably the darkest complexioned people in the

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

people remained non-Hindu in their basic beliefs and social customs. Hindu influences are nevertheless predominant in their culture, especially in their way of living which shows a practical adaptability, somewhat similar to the Japanese acceptance of modern western culture without becoming Christian. In my census of Shella village, the people calling themselves 'Hindu' amount to 40 per cent of the total, but they are the recent converts to the Ramakrishna School which established a missionary station at Shella after the Partition. The Christians constitute 30 per cent of the total, most of them having been converted during the last ten years, as in the case of the Ramachrishna School.[1] The rest remain as they were, of Khasi belief. These conversions to either Ramachrishna or Christianity seem to have been encouraged by the unstable situation of the people resulting from the recent economic depression in this area.

The Partition of India and Pakistan in August 1947, which drew the borderline a few miles south of Shella village, considerably upset village economy by stopping all trade with Bengal, though a limited amount of trade is allowed with local people at the border. Because of this political change, all the produce of Shella gardens is rotting away for lack of markets, while all of the rice fields were taken by Pakistan. Goods now come to Shella only from the uplands, carried upon men's shoulders over the most difficult pass, which makes everything very expensive. Many families have sold their gold and other treasures, and some families are facing starvation.[2]

Concerning the conversion to a new religion, an interesting phenomenon is to be observed. The conversion to Christianity or to Ramakrishna is mostly by individual: I found in my census that the wife and husband often belong to different religions. This is a very different picture from the Garo, among whom I always found that the husband and wife belonged to the same religion: the conversion of the husband to Christianity was always followed by that of the wife. I think this reflects the structural differences which influence the actual relationship between the husband and wife. Among these Khasi, instead of the husband and wife, the maternal uncle and his nephews and nieces are mostly of the same religion. The function of the *iing*, the most important social and religious unit, thus appears also in the conversion to a new religion, stronger than that of a domestic unit.

Intermarriage.

The close economic and cultural contact of the Shella people and the Bengalee is not matched by social contact. The essential barrier between the two peoples is the difference of religion which dominates the entire social order in each society. Though these Khasi were important traders, richer than the neighbouring Hindu peasants, they were considered by the Hindu as outcasts with whom they never shared social activities. Intermarriages were therefore very rare. In Shella village, only two exceptional cases were found in my census:

1. A Khasi woman married to a Gurka (cattle-keeper); they live at Shella Bazaar (Sholap).
2. A Khasi woman has marital relation with a Bengalee medical doctor who has resided at Disong in Shella for six years. He already has a Bengalee

1. These two entirely different missionary activities are competing with each other, and are somewhat related to the political powers within this area.
2. The state government is doing its best to provide them with additional facilities: for example, providing air transport for the transportation of oranges from Shella to Gauhati and Calcutta. However, such arrangements cannot cover the great economic loss suffered by the Shella people.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Shella]

wife who lives with him. The Khasi woman lives with her mother. Some say the Khasi woman is his second wife, other say their marriage is not recognized by the public. 563

Actually, owing to the bad climate, very few non-Khasi live in this area. Besides the two non-Khasi just mentioned, there were a Bengalee tax collector and an Assamese Forest Officer, both of whom lived at Shella Bazaar. Bengalee villages are situated about five miles south of Shella. Except in the bazaar, Bengalee and Khasi have no social contact with each other, and intermarriages have been rare.

However, it is obvious that in the past the Khasi must have had many cases of intermarriage with Bengalee. Among the Khasi, there is a clan called 'Dkhar.' The term 'Dkhar' is also used for the peoples of the plains: Bengalee are called 'Dkhar' by the Khasi. They say that the Dkhar clan originated in Bengalee girls who married Khasi men and who went to live in the Hills. It is said that in older days, the Khasi often raided the Sylhet plain and kidnapped Bengalee girls as well as goods. In Bengalee records of Sylhet, Khasi appear as 'bloody Khasi.' Khasi old men say that in order to increase their population they did sometimes kidnap Bengalee girls, but that they treated these girls very nicely and kindly, no differently from their own people. Since they follow the matrilineal system, they decided to name their descendants 'Dkhar.' It is said that all the present Dkhar people are descendants of such marriages. The Dkhar are found more on the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills i.e. among the Wars. 101 563

It seems there were many reasons for the descendants by marriage between the Khasi and the Bengalee to become Khasi. First of all, it is said that in the olden days the Khasi wanted to increase the population by such marriages. At the same time, a Bengalee who married a Khasi became an outcast from his or her own society owing to the caste system, and this inevitably made them Khasi. Secondly, the Khasi were primarily grouped into the *ing*, and they considered the marriage relation as of secondary importance. Hence it was rather difficult to remove by marriage a Khasi man or woman from their native place. Thirdly, Khasi could hardly live in the plain where no betel-nut or pan-leaf gardens were available; they could not engage in rice cultivation in the plain, as the technique is entirely different from the cultivation of betel-nut or pan-leaf. Moreover, they said they could not stand the heat in the plain. Therefore, the orientation of intermarriages was always towards the Khasi community: the Khasi brought outsiders to their own land; they did not themselves leave.

Such a marked tendency on the part of the Khasi to remain attached to their own homeland, is in no way contradictory with the phenomena of their migration to places outside the Khasi Hill, owing to the exploitation of their homeland and to the increase in population. The formation of Jatinga represents such an instance; there are also the cases of modern Khasi women from sophisticated urban areas, who easily leave their homeland, after marriage with a non-Khasi; this also appears in the following data on Jatinga. 161 167 [563]

JATINGA

Jatinga is a Khasi village situated in the North Cachar Hills, three miles west from Haflong, the headquarters of the North Cachar Hills. The number of households was about sixty in February 1956. Their economy depends on the pan-leaf, orange and pineapple gardens, similar to that of the Shella people. 191 621 433

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

621 descent grouping are often different. This is a very similar pattern to the
[184] mobility which I discussed in Sohkynduh and Kongton (see p. 111).

One of the outstanding features in this community is the strong paternal
178 authority, established especially in the first generation, because the father's
599 (husband's) contribution was very important in such circumstances: their
domestic units were completely independent from the *siag* either of husband
61 or wife. Some of them came with their wives, and many younger ones and
621 their sons brought their wives from their homeland afterwards, thus practising virilocal marriage.

They have an interesting social usage which reflects the importance of the husband of the first generation. This is the addition of the name of the husband of the first generation to the matrilineal clan name in order to differentiate each particular descent group established at Jatinga within the same clan. For instance, Rupsi-Tah, Rupsi-Loh, Rupsi-Khla and Rupsi-Lati are found in the Rupsi clan. Rupsi-Tah is one of the lines of the first immigrants to Jatinga, which I have mentioned as Rupsi: Tah was taken from Pryntah, the husband of Sintu (Rupsi) (see p. 171). Thus the present inhabitants of Jatinga are very conscious of their father or grandfather, though they strictly follow the matrilineal descent rule. From such a usage of naming a clan, the Indian officer, who gave me some information about Jatinga before I went there, made the mistaken deduction that they had changed from matrilineal to patrilineal, assuming this to have come about as a result of the influence of patrilineal tribes around Jatinga. But this is simply due to the fact, firstly, that they hold in high regard the man of the first generation, because of his great contribution; secondly, that they distinguish themselves from members of the same clan according to the descent group established at each immigration; in other words, it indicates each *siag* grouping in the village.

178 The fundamental Khasi social organization based on the matrilineal system
194 did not change at all. I could observe in Jatinga exactly the same principle in action as I had found in Sohkynduh and Kongton. The village endogamy
582 has also been well established in the present generation: there are about 20 different clans which can intermarry, and taking a spouse from an outside com-
61 munity has become very rare nowadays. Marriage patterns in relation to the
621 *siag* structure and all its related aspects are surprisingly similar to that of the communities in the Khasi Hills. The solidarity of the *siag* is even greater in Jatinga, particularly among the rich, because of the greater accumulation of wealth and greater economic activity, which also increases the authority of the *siag* as manager of considerable property—this was also the case with the Shella people. Jatinga demonstrates that in spite of colonization and of a significant change in economic activities, Khasi social organization has maintained itself intact. This situation is in contrast with the considerable social changes observed among the Garo community in colonial areas like Rangpara and Jowkipara.

621 *Intermarriage*

178 From the earliest period of the establishment of Jatinga up to the present,
582 some changing aspects of marriage patterns relating to intermarriages are to be observed.

• 563 As I stated before, in the earlier period, the people used to bring their spouses from their homeland, but they also married neighbouring tribal peoples, namely,
563 the Zemi-Nagas, the Kuki and the Cachareo of villages close to Jatinga, and
621 also the Lushei, the Bengalee, the Moslem and the Anglo-Indian who lived in Haflong, the biggest political and commercial centre in the Hills, situated

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

three miles away from Jaitinga. As one may expect in such a situation, quite a number of intermarriages with these peoples appear in my census of Jaitinga. The resultant of these intermarriages was that when the couple and their children lived in Jaitinga, they were considered to have become Khasi, otherwise they were held to be non-Khasi, whether the spouse was man or woman. This orientation of social recognition of the result of intermarriage was generally seen among Khasi in such situations, not only in the case of Jaitinga.

The following are extracts of intermarriages from my genealogical table of Jaitinga people.

A. Cases of intermarriages in which the descendants became Khasi.

1. A woman of the Dome clan married a Kuki man. All members of the present Dome clan at Jaitinga are their descendants.
2. A woman of the Rymbai clan married a Kuki man as her second marriage. Their descendants are Rymbai.
3. A man of the Suchiang clan married a Mikir woman, and lived in Jaitinga. They had one daughter who married a man of the Hun clan of Jaitinga. They named this woman's line 'Shadap' as one of the Khasi clans. Later this Mikir woman's sister's daughter married a man of Rupsi-Lafi, and their descendants were also named 'Shadap' by the villagers. Thus Shadap clan was created by a Mikir woman who married a Khasi man of Jaitinga.
4. A Khasi man married a Lushai woman and lived at Aijal, the headquarters of the Lushai Hills. They said he became Lushai. Later a man of the Pajet clan of Jaitinga married his daughter from Aijal. This couple lives at Jaitinga and has several children. The villagers said they have to give them a new clan name. It is under consideration.

B. Cases of intermarriages leading to the emigration of Jaitinga inhabitants.

5. A man of Jaitinga married a woman of Zemi-Naga as his second marriage and lives at his wife's village.
6. A woman (the daughter of the woman of Rymbai, who married a Kuki A-5) married a Muslim man and lives at Shillong.
7. A woman of Rymbai married a Punjabee and lives at Shillong. This woman is (B-6)'s mother's sister's daughter.
8. A woman of Sungphai clan married an Assamese and lives at Gauhati.
9. A woman of Rupsi-Lafi married an Anglo-Indian and has gone to the United Provinces.
10. A woman of Jaitinga married a man of Zemi-Naga and went to his village.
11. A woman of Jaitinga married a man of Cacharee and lived at his village some time, but she came back to Jaitinga after divorcing him.

A cases belong to the earlier period when Jaitinga had a shortage of population, while *B* cases, except 10 and 11, are found among the present younger generation. The population, which had increased rapidly in the last twenty years with economic prosperity, is suffering from the recent economic depression caused by the Partition as well as from the great damages done to their orange gardens and potato gardens by tree diseases. Moreover they have an unbalanced rate of birth according to sex: females are more numerous than males. Therefore, many daughters marry out as shown in the cases of *B*. The above-cited cases are only concerned with intermarriages with non-Khasi, but there are still other women who married Khasi men and who reside outside Jaitinga, as for example, at Nailong and Shillong.

In the village there are still many unmarried girls without suitable spouses. In the olden days, it was too difficult to marry neighbouring tribal peoples,

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

like the Jomi-Naga, the Cachares and the Riahi. But after the period of economic prosperity as I shall describe in the next section, the Jaintiga people reached a rather high level of education, while most of the neighbouring tribes remained illiterate. Their standard of living likewise improved. Fashionable girls of Jaintiga who have studied at the Convent school in Shillong, and speak English and Hindi, cannot marry half-naked tribesmen who work in the jungle. They prefer to intermarry with Muslim, Punjabee or Assamese who belong to more sophisticated community, and through whom they can enjoy urban life. Thus the orientation of the intermarriage of the people of Jaintiga has changed, along with the growth of Jaintiga.

It should be noted that intermarriages come mostly through the contacts at Shillong, where people used to go once a week for the bazaar, rather than through direct contacts with neighbouring villages.

Economy of Jaintiga and its Relation to Neighbouring Tribes.

It is very interesting to find two different kinds of economy in the same ecological background. Jaintiga Khasi practise pan-leaf and orange cultivation and depend mainly on a trading economy, while the other neighbouring tribal peoples practise jhum cultivation, almost a subsistence economy. This situation has remained unchanged for the last fifty years since the establishment of Jaintiga village.

The first Jaintiga immigrants occupied one ridge of the mountain where the present Jaintiga is situated. Formerly, this land belonged to the Jomi-Naga, one of the old inhabitants of the Cachar Hills, who possessed a vast jungle area for jhum cultivation. It seems that there was no objection to the Khasi occupying this small spot; it was apparently too small an area for the jhum cultivator —pan-leaf cultivation of the Khasi requires less than one twentieth of the land of the usual jhum cultivation. The Khasi who started pan-leaf cultivation were able to accumulate some capital, and after several years they started orange gardens. They had had experience of orange cultivation in their homeland, but this was the first time they had operated commercially.

The success of this orange cultivation was beyond their dreams. Hearing of good oranges at Jaintiga, many Bengalee merchants from Dacca, Sylhet, Silchar and Gauhati began to come to buy them. Moreover, the village had the great advantage of being situated near the railway station. Oranges were sold by carloads. Unimaginable wealth came to the Jaintiga people. Especially the founder's family, including his brother's and sister's, became extraordinarily wealthy; their income used to be Rs. 50,000 a year. The children were sent to the school which was established in the village and some were educated at colleges in Dacca, Sylhet and Shillong. The villagers had beautiful houses built by Manipuri and Bengalee carpenters. Actually the houses of Jaintiga were known as some of the best construction in Assam.

Like the Shella people, they were managers of gardens and employed workers. Wealthy households used to engage several labourers annually, most of them from Jaintia where the Jaintiga people had originated. These workers were provided with shelter in the servant quarters of their employer's house, but they had to provide meals for themselves. They were paid daily according to the work done. They were available to other households, when their employer had no work. Some labourers were also engaged locally among the Jomi-Naga, the Cachares and the Riahi, though not so many as among the Jaintia. These local tribes were fairly well occupied by their jhum cultivation, and not used to being employed as workers. Therefore, most of them were not regular

group of matrilineal and Mon-Khmer-speaking people who claim as their ancestral homeland the granitic Khasi-Jaintia Hills District (within approximately 90° 6' and 92° 52' E. and 25° 7' and 26° 9' N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also Pnar or Synteng) in the southeast, who differ from the Khasis primarily in their dialectal residence patterns and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Bhoksa in eastern Jaintia are a Kuki people.) It also includes the Lyngngams (also spelled Lyngam) in the west, who practice migratory swidden agriculture and possess peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Ehrenfels (1952) to be culturally intermediate between Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhois, Wars, and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily territorial. Bhoi country is the north-central part of the District, and is culturally complicated by the presence of Nepalis, Lalungs, and Nepalis. War country spans the entire southern length of the District, as the Wars divide into Jaintia Wars and Khasi Wars, of these, the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland center of the District is the country of the Khasis proper, those whose culture provides the most useful model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere. [For general references on all categories of Khasi culture, cf. Gurdon 1906 and 1907, also Gurdon 1907, especially for data on regional variations.] Geography. The District is 5,556 square miles of hilly tableland, irregularly dissected by numerous rivers, and marked by significant ecological variation over very short distances. The tablelands step gently downward north from Shillong Peak, which at 6,445 feet is the highest point in the District, and over about 35 miles east into the Brahmaputra valley where this is some 300 feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then drops abruptly in cliff and steep-slope formations, to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its north with Sylhet. The annual southwest monsoon drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and Nongwaiem villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 905 inches in 1861), but then, reaching Shillong 35 miles to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per year. Rainfall is again greater in Sylhet, which shares the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes and never snows. To the north, climate becomes subtropical, forest is jungle, and fauna abound. The climate to the south is also subtropical. Cf. Bhaskar 1951, chap. XVIII.] Linguistic affiliation. Khasi is one of the major Mon-Khmer languages, related to Wa, Khasi, Semang-Sakai, Nicobarese, and Pa-laung-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jaintia, and Lyngngam, to which Gurdon adds War. Further minor variations occur from village to village. The Khasis had no script until 1841, when the roman alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji dialect of Khasi proper. Cf. Sahni 1961, Gurdon 1903-1910; Ta Hleith 1962.]

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10: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
AR7 Khasi AR7
[P. 106 B]

1965-28. 2. Barth 1982.] **Demography.** According to the 1961 census of India, the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District contained 221,982 Khasis and 67,532 Syntengs, Pnars, and Jaintias (India [Republic] 1962-57). These figures, together with those for Khasis enumerated in Cachar (4,005), Mikir and North Cachar Hills (467), Lakhimpur (287), Sibsagar (270), and Darrang (211) districts, and those for Syntengs enumerated in Mikir and North Cachar District (464), yield a total of 295,224 Khasis. **History and cultural relations.** Khasis believe that they had supernatural origin in Khasi Hills (see Gait 1938: 280 for historical evidence, and Rafy 1960: 8-9 for myth, but see also Costa 1888, 1889; Gordon 1907: 10-11, and Chatterji 1951: 12). Khasi tradition also states that in early times they moved gradually from east to west, from Jaintia toward Khasi Hills, in the practice of swidden agriculture (Gatphoh 1947: 97-98). The salient fact of known Khasi history, which begins generally in the mid-sixteenth century A.D. when there already existed the present-day 25 native Khasi chiefdoms, is the distinctive line of development followed by the separate kingdom of Jaintia. To the north, Jaintia was successively tributary, in part or in whole, to the Kachari kingdom (ca. 1520 A.D.), the Koch kingdom (strongest ca. 1580 A.D.), and the Ahom kingdom (strongest ca. 1700 A.D.) (Shakespear 1914: Map 1). To the south, about 1500 A.D., Jaintia extended its rule over a tract of Sylhet, which was populated by Hindus and Muslims, and saw its kings fall thereafter under Brahmanic influence. In the early 1800s, Jaintia became involved in the fratricidal strife then prevalent in the ruling family of Manipur. In 1835, after the Jaintia king ignored British warnings not to seize British subjects for human sacrifice, Jaintia was punished by the British annexation of the Jaintia parganas in Sylhet. The Jaintia king then voluntarily turned over to the British the hills area of his domain, so that the whole of Jaintia became part of British India and, in 1840, came to be taxed as such, although the Jaintias were otherwise allowed to maintain their traditional system of village government. • By contrast, the remaining Khasi states had few formal external relations until British times. Khasis resided and traded in both the Brahmaputra and Sylhet valleys, but were basically turned inward on their own hills, where warfare between villages and between the states was apparently common. Khasis came into indirect relation with the British in 1765, when Sylhet and its markets became part of British India. In the 1790s, stepped-up Khasi raids into Sylhet caused the British to throw up a deterring line of forts along the foothills. Later, it became necessary to place an embargo on Khasi products in the Sylhet markets. In 1827, the British penetrated into western Khasi Hills by negotiating with the Khasi chief of Nongkhlaw State to build a road through his territory, linking the recently annexed Brahmaputra valley with Calcutta. For these decades

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16: McCormack E-6,1 (1914-1918) 1916

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formation, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1883. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive cultivation exhausted the soil and made for poor power crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for the performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) Since 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups which introduced customs into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A. and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the independence of India in 1947 and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs' civil court, and the District Council finds a difficult to effect [illegible] Under the 6 Sixth Schedule of [illegible] legislation. The more political whom at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [Cf. Carr 1938; Arbuthnot 1951; Bhuyan 1949; Morris 1910.]

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. Settlement pattern. Khasis live ordinarily in nuclear, unilineal, and unplanned villages which are situated near hilltops and summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

[illegible]

3.8 The following table shows the classification of population by age and sex in the three areas :-

Age and Sex Composition of Population

Age Group	Border area			Project area			General area		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-14	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
15-44	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
45-59	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
60 & above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
No. of boys to 100 girls	[illegible]			[illegible]			[illegible]		

It is seen that the population under 15 years of age in the border area, project area and general area were respectively 37 per cent, 39 per cent and 37 per cent of the total population in these areas, while those under age group 15 years to 44 years constituted respectively 52 per cent, 51 per cent and 51 per cent of the population in the three areas.

It is evident that proportion of females was as a whole greater than that of male in border area and project area and it was almost same in general area. The number of females per 1,000 males in border area, project area and general area were respectively 1,015, 1,018 and 988 against the 1951 census figure of 961 females per 1,000 males in the rural areas of the district of Chandi Hills.

3.9 The following table shows the classification of population by religion.

Classification of Population by Religion

Area	Tribal religion	Hindu	Christian	Other religion	Total
1. Border area	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Project area	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. General area	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Population following Hinduism and other religions is a border area comprises mainly of displaced persons from East Pakistan following Hindu and Buddhism as their means of livelihood, while those in the project and general area are mainly the Tripuris who are generally engaged in cane making and agriculture.

[illegible] Gwoza G.S. [illegible] 186.5 40° 65cm 40°

A perusal of the table above will show the proportion of families following non-agricultural labour as principal occupation is highest in Gwoza area. Majority of these families were formerly engaged in agriculture but due to adverse circumstances arising out of partition, are forced to take to other occupations. The mixed crafts and artisan (M.W.I) units give employment to a large section of these people. Other sources of employment are collection and carriage of limestone, woodcutting, and carrying of merchandise, etc. Traders in customary articles and groceries who formed the bulk of the traders in the border area are largely the displaced persons and the Bengali people concentrated in Bhidgaon and Bakai. Others are petty traders dealing in fruits, vegetables, fish, clothes and other foodstuff. Under craftsmen manufacturers, etc., come the tinker families, blacksmiths, carpenters, etc., Commission agents, labourers, boatmen, etc., are shown as others.

8.19 In the following table the families in the three village groups are classified according to their principal occupation.

LP: Assam G-5 (1958) 336.5 A87 Gaza A87

9.6 Considering non-agricultural families it is seen that average gross annual income per family in Border area, Project area and General area are respectively Rs. 1,182.91, Rs. 1,666.98 and Rs. 879.95 respectively. The main contributor to this income in Border area is Trade followed by Service, Profession, Labour and Agriculture and Animal husbandry, those in Project area are Labour-Service-Profession followed by Trade, small scale manufacture and agriculture and Animal husbandry. The comparatively higher average income from small scale manufacture and handicraft is due to existence of quite a good number of liquor families with quite a large amount of annual income. Main contributors to gross annual income of non-agricultural families in General area in order of importance are agriculture and animal husbandry, service-profession and labour. It is significant that among the non-agricultural families also agriculture and animal husbandry emerge to be the biggest contributor. This is due to the fact that in General area villages there are a large number of Nepali families whose principal occupation is cattle rearing and earned enough by selling milk, ghee, and livestock. These families were classed as non-agricultural families.

9.7 Of the gross income, agriculturists spend a portion in their farms on items such as purchase of seed, manure, etc., cost of maintenance of livestock, wages and salaries for labourers, and transport of produce while other spend a portion on running their household enterprises such as purchase of merchandise for trading, purchase of plants and machinery and raw materials for household enterprises, wages and salaries for employees, etc. The net annual income per family, as will be evident from table G-6, comes to Rs. 882.66 in Border area, Rs. 880.80 in Project area and Rs. 740.01 in General area. The corresponding figure for agricultural families being Rs. 820.80, Rs. 952.20 Rs. 869.40 and for non-agricultural families Rs. 958.08, Rs. 1,160.88 and Rs. 673.16 respectively.

The following table shows the annual expenditure of families in running their enterprises.

20: Mushes C-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

185 they form rapids, the waters precipitating themselves down deep, rocky gorges and chasms, choked with huge boulders. Some of these gorges are very beautiful; the streams, being hemmed in between stupendous mountains and rocks covered with primeval forest, run in narrow but very deep channels swarming with fish. No islands or lakes are formed by any of the rivers, although several of them have large, deep pools. They are all unfordable during the rains.

212 Utilization of the Water Supply.—Many of the rivers are utilized as a motive power for turning machinery, although the streams on the higher plateaux might be easily turned to such an account. Their waters, however, are extensively used for the purposes of irrigation, and the hill people display great ingenuity in making channels or aqueducts for leading the water on to their fields. It is in this manner that the Civil Station of Shillong receives its water supply. Aqueducts convey water to the houses of all the European residents; and branch channels from the main aqueducts flow through the bazár, and along the streets occupied by the native inhabitants. No fishing towns exist in the hills; but near where the rivers debouch upon the plain are some valuable fisheries, which are annually let in farm, the leases being generally bought. These fisheries yield an annual Government revenue of about £ [illegible]. Embankments in order to protect the land against floods are met with. A few embankments, or rather dams, are thrown across narrow valleys between hills, so as to create reservoirs for water. At Shillong there are a few tanks thus formed, which are both useful and ornamental.

185 Minerals, etc.—Coal and limestone, both of excellent quality, are found in abundance. Lower Bengal obtains nearly the whole of its lime supply from the Khási and Jaintia Hills. The lime is known as "Sylhet lime," and is obtained by quarrying from the beds of stone which line the base of the mountains along the whole length of the Sylhet boundary. The supply is literally inexhaustible. Coal outcrops at Cherra Punji, Lákádong, Shella, Máo-syn-ram, and at several other places; but as a rule it is concealed, and found in places difficult of access. The coal, however, is of excellent quality, and leaves very little ash. Stone, well adapted for building purposes, is also found. Limestone exists almost everywhere throughout the Hills, but principally in the dependent States of Khyrim, Nongkrem, Cherrá, and Mylliem. In former years the Khásis w[illegible]

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20: Hunter C-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

public auction. The Assam rules, as revised in 1873-76, reserve to Government the right of pre-emption at the price of Rs. 600 (£60) in the case of every elephant captured between 8 feet and 8½ feet in height. For every elephant caught that is not purchased by Government, a royalty of Rs. 100 (£10) is payable within one month after capture. Certain methods of hunting are prohibited.

POPULATION.—Prior to 1872 no attempts had been made at a Census of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills, but in 1872 the Deputy-Commissioner approximately estimated the population at 116,403 souls. In 1872, at the time of the Bengal Census, operations were not so far in these Hills, but on a less elaborate system than in Regulation Districts. In the Khási Hills, the Census of the various petty States was effected through the chiefs; in British territory in the Jáintiá Hills, the *dolloi* conducted the enumeration; while at Shillong and other places under direct administration, the work was done by officers attached to the Deputy-Commissioner's office. The results are thus returned:—Adults—males, 33,882; and females, 24,256: total adults, 84,280. Children under twelve years of age—males, 18,611; and females, 18,513: total children, 37,124. Total males, 68,513; total females, 53,049. Grand total, 121,562; proportion of males, 56·36 per cent. The total area of the District, according to the latest returns, is 6,133 square miles, which gives an average density of 19 persons per square mile. The number of villages is 1203; the number of houses, 31,555, of which 350 are returned as of the better sort.

ETHNOLOGY, DIVISION OF THE PEOPLE.—The population consists almost exclusively of aboriginal tribes and races, viz. Khásiás and Syntengs (who form the bulk of the inhabitants of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills respectively), Bhóts, Lépchás, and Kukis. The only other dwellers in the Hills are the European officials and military officers at Shillong and Cherrá Punjí, with their native servants and followers, a few Bengálí officials, and the wives of a regiment of native infantry. The classification of the inhabitants according to religion shows:—121,183 aboriginal; 369 Hindus; 60 Muhammadans; and 118 Christians, including 33 Europeans, 9 Eurasians, and 85 native converts.

THE KHÁSIÁS.—The following sketch of the physical characteristics and customs of the Khásiás has been kindly furnished to me by the Deputy-Commissioner, Colonel Bivar; it is reproduced almost verbatim from his report and on his authority:—

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

361 In the interior of the Hills the largest villages are mere clusters of
463 huts. The great majority of the inhabitants are employed in agri-
culture, but there are no data upon which a proportion of agricul-
turists to non-agriculturists could be based.

167 There is no immigration into the District. Both the Khásis and
198 the Syntengs have been successful in preserving to the present
day their primitive isolation, free from the interference of Hin-
duism. They still maintain their aboriginal forms of belief and re-
(171) ligious worship, and repudiate alike the authority of Brâhmans and
(262) the entire system of caste. To some extent, however, they have
given way to Hindu prejudices in the matter of purity of food. The
(563) few Hindus to be found in the Hills are temporary residents, em-
ployed in civil and military employ, who always contemplate returning
(941) to their own homes. The traders are for the most part natives of the
Hills; for the Márwári merchants, who penetrate into every other
corner of Assam, have been able to obtain no footing in the face of
Khási competition. There is likewise no emigration from the
District. The hillmen are a well-to-do and contented race, and
(164) either produce themselves or obtain by trade sufficient to satisfy
their scanty wants. A certain number of both Khásis and
Syntengs proceed southwards every year to work on the tea
gardens of Cáchár and Sylhet, but such absence from home is only
temporary.

243 AGRICULTURE: RICE.—Thirteen different varieties of rice are
cultivated in the District, of which the following is a list, giving the
Khási name as well as the description of the grain:—(1) *Ri-kyrdo-
khyrmen* (*u*, the masculine article, meaning "the," and *kyrdo*, rice
mountain, meaning "paddy"), brown rice with long grain; (2)
u-kyrdo-khyrmen-kni-lih, a white rice with long grain; (3) *u-kyrdo-la-
sei*, round-grained rice; (4) *u-kyrdo-thar*, hundred, hundred; (5) *u-kyrdo-
ân-ka-sing*, black hundred rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *kyrdo* = 'paddy,' *ân-
ka* = 'earth,' *ka* = 'that,' *sing* = 'black'); (6) *u-kyrdo-ka-lih*, white rice;
(7) *u-kyrdo-sein*, scented rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *kyrdo* = 'paddy,' *sein* =
'myrrh'); (8) *u-kyrdo-la-dwah*, large-grained rice; (9) *u-kyrdo-la-slang*,
small-grained rice; (10) *u-kyrdo-u-thu*, early rice; (11) *u-kyrdo-ra-dun*,
late rice; (12) *u-kyrdo-lang-lo*, rice grown along with beans; (13)
u-kyrdo-la-kti, small rice.

Rice is cultivated in marshy fields situated near running water or
soil as in high lands. The five sorts of the above thirteen species of
rice are sown in marshy lands during the months of April and May,